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The Mystery of Fu-lin.—By FRIEDRICH HIRTH, Professor
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THE several accounts we possess in Chinese literature of that mysterious country in the extreme west called Fu-lin declare it to be identical with the country known in ancient times as Ta-ts'in. The texts of the T'ang dynasty speak of "Fu-lin, that is the ancient Ta-ts'in," or of "Tats'in, also called Fu-lin," and it appears that the two names were interchangeable. From the Chinese point of view the question would, therefore, be simple enough. If Ta-ts'in is Syria, Fu-lin must be Syria. I am nevertheless disinclined to be guided by this kind of logic and fully admit the difficulty of the Fu-lin problem.

My present view, which in its main features has undergone little change from the one expressed twenty-five years ago in my first study of the subject,¹ is briefly this: Ta-ts'in is the Roman empire with all its grandeur emanating from Rome, its capital; but the detail placed on record in the contemporaneous Chinese texts is confined to its Asiatic provinces, for which reason not Rome, but Antioch is described as the capital city. Its relations to China were of a commercial kind. Fu-lin is the Eastern empire of Byzantium, but as in the case of Ta-ts'in, the Chinese accounts are confined to certain Asiatic portions of it, and its relations to China were chiefly ecclesiastical. This at least is the impression I have received from the study of the Fu-lin chapters in the Chinese standard histories. I admit that Chinese literature contains a few passages, to which I hope to revert on some future occasion, which seem to involve that, besides the countries described in the standard accounts, a Greater Ta-ts'in and a Greater Fu-lin were not unknown in China.

¹ *China and the Roman Orient: Researches into their Ancient and Mediæval Relations as represented in old Chinese records.* Shanghai, 1885. I shall in the course of these notes refer to this book by the letters *R. O.*

This view has been recently abandoned by my esteemed friend Professor Éd. Chavannes, who thinks that Fu-lin is after all Constantinople and not Syria.¹ His arguments are briefly these.

1. The name Fu-lin represents the Greek accusative πόλιν in εἰς τὴν πόλιν, Istan-polin, according to Mas'udi the origin of the name Istanbūl.

2. The name Fu-lin appears in Chinese literature previous to the arrival of the Nestorians in China.

3. It may have been brought to China during the Sui period by the Western Turks, who had been visited by Byzantine ambassadors in 568 and 576 A. D.

4. The king of Fu-lin who sent ambassadors to China in 643 was called *Po-to-li* (波多力). By substituting 悉 for 多, the name would appear as *Po-si-li*, which may stand for βασιλεύς.

5. The Arab general *Mo-i*, who was sent to effect the siege of Fu-lin, may be identical with Muawia's son "Yézyd ben Muawia," one of three emirs who attacked Constantinople.

6. The king of Fu-lin who sent an embassy to China in 1081 *Miê-li-i-ling-kai-sa* may have been identical with the pretender Nicephorus Melissenus, the character 伊 *i* in that name being a mistake for 俟 *ssî*.

Professor Chavannes justifies the changes he suggests in connection with such names as *Po-to-li* and *Miê-li-i* by the frequency of errors in the tradition of Chinese texts. I quite admit this argument as applying to certain works, such as the *Ts'ö-fu-yüan-kui*, from which his "Notes additionelles" have been mainly derived. This work bristles with mistakes; but I would be much less inclined to assume such errors in the texts of the standard histories, the tradition of which, as regards names, compares not unfavourably with that of our me-

¹ In his paper entitled "Notes additionelles sur les Tou-kiue (Turcs) occidentaux" in *T'oung-pao*, 1904, p. 37, note 3, in which he says: "J'ai identifié ce pays [Fou-lin] avec la Syrie, parce que j'acceptais la théorie soutenue avec beaucoup de talent par HIRTH (*China and the Roman Orient*) qui voit dans le terme *Fou-lin* (anciennement *but-lim*) le nom de Beth-léhem, et qui considère *Po-to-li*, roi du Fou-lin, comme le *bathrik*, c'est-à-dire le patriarche des Nestoriens. Un nouvel examen de la question me conduît cependant à reprendre l'ancienne identification de *Fou-lin* avec Byzance."

diæval Greek and Latin classics.¹ Conjectures of this kind may occasionally become necessary, but they ought in all cases to be supported by strong circumstantial evidence and ought also to admit of some plausible paleographic explanation.

I have called this paper "The Mystery of Fu-lin," and I wish to indicate thereby that I do not by any means pretend to have removed all doubt from what may remain a mystery for ever. I cannot, however, refrain from placing on record the arguments which have induced me to maintain my original view. I welcome Professor Chavannes' criticism as the best means throwing light on the problem, and I shall be happy to hear of his further researches in the direction indicated. There still remain quite a number of important points to be settled in connection with both Ta-ts'in and Fu-lin, and who knows whether some unexpected discovery will not some day either shake, or confirm, our present views, if not furnish clues which nobody has thought of.

1. The old sound of the name Fu-lin (拂 菴).

The first character 拂, now pronounced *fu* in the Mandarin, and *fat* in the Canton dialect, has a final *t*, according to all the mediæval authorities quoted by K'ang-hi (Rad. 63, 5). In the *Tsi-yün*, a work which appeared as late as the Sung Dynasty, its sound is described as 薄蜜切, i. e., *p(ok-m)at*, or *pat*.

The second character 菴, now pronounced *lin* in the Mandarin, and *lam* in the Canton dialect, was according to the *Tsi-yün* pronounced 力錦切, i. e., *l(ik-k)am*, or *lam*, and K'ang-hi quotes the name *Fu-lin* (*Fat-lam* or *Pat-lam*) as an example of that pronunciation (Rad. 140, 8).

As a further example of the old sound ending in *m*, and not in *n*, I may quote the name of one of the priests which appears in estrangelo characters as *Ephraem* (read Abraham by Kircher) in the Syriac part of the Nestorian inscription with the Chinese transcription 拂林, = *fu-lin*, *fat-lam* or *pat-lam*. I need not say that 林 and 菴 are identical in sound. Certainly the final of this character was *m*, and not *n*. In

¹ Cf. my remarks on the "Textkritik" of Chinese authors, *R. O.*, p. 8 seq.

order to express the syllable *lin* in *πόλιν*, a Chinese transcriber of the sixth century would have selected some such character as 鄰, *lin*, the old final of which is *n*, rather than a sound ending in *m*. In the *T'ang-shu-shü-yin*, chap. 24, p. 3, ad vocem *Fu-lin*, the sound of the character 菴 is described as 力稔, i. e. *l* (ik-n) *am* = *lam*.

As may be seen from *R. O.*, p. 287, note 2, I do not doubt the correctness of the etymology of the name *Istambul* = *Istanpolin* (εἰς τὴν πόλιν) as suggested by Mas'udi;¹ but we have to take into consideration that, as Professor Chavannes says himself, it applies to about the year 344 H., i. e., the tenth century A. D., whereas the name *Fu-lin* was first used in the sixth, or seventh, century. But, even granting the Byzantine Romans of that early period having called their capital "*Istanpolin*," this need not force us to identify the name with Chinese "*Fu-lin*."

2. First occurrence of the name *Fu-lin*.

I quite agree with Professor Chavannes about the *Sui-shu* being the oldest record in which the name *Fu-lin* is mentioned. Indeed I called attention to it on p. 17 and p. 288, note, of my book. The biographical portion, including the records regarding foreign countries, of that historian was completed in 636 A. D., as we are told in the Catalogue of the Imperial Library,² that is just a year after the arrival at Ch'ang-an of the first Nestorian mission under O-lo-pōn (probably a transcription for *Rabân* or *Rabban*,—id est, *monasterii propositus*, Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, III Pt. ii, pp. 911 and 913—also very common as a name). It seems to me quite possible that the name *Fu-lin* was just then substituted in the final revision of the *Sui-shu* text for that of *Ta-ts'in*, which may have been the original reading. But even if this had not been the case, why could not the Chinese have received notices of the country under its new name *Fu-lin* from sources not connected with the arrival of its natives, just as well as *Ta-ts'in* was known to them at the time of the general Pan Chau's campaign long

¹ For a careful compilation of material regarding the origin and history of this name see E. Oberhummer in Pauly-Wissowa's "*Real-Encyclopädie*," s. v. "*Constantinopolis*."

² *Tsung-mu*, chap. 45, p. 53.

before the first Ta-ts'in mission reached China in 166 A. D.? We know that the emperor Yang-ti tried in vain to have intercourse with Fu-lin. Could not he, or his representative Pei K'ü, the author of the *Sui-si-yü-t'u* (隋西域圖), have heard the name as being identical with that of Ta-ts'in through the Nestorians in other western countries which had then come into contact with China, such as Persia, which is described with considerable detail in the *Sui-shu*, with its city of Madain, then the see of Nestorian patriarchs? Certainly the appearance of the name Fu-lin in Chinese literature previous to that of the Nestorians in China does not argue against the identity of the country with Syria. Professor Chavannes refers to the three trade routes quoted from Pei K'ü's work in the *Sui-shu* (chap. 67, p. 12), the northern one of which leads by way of I-wu (Hami) past P'u-lei-hai (Lake Barkul), the T'ié-lö (Tölös) tribes, the court of the Great Khan of the Turks, and, *crossing the rivers that flow north, to the country of Fu-lin and to the western sea.*" The route thus described is in my opinion not the later road to Constantinople, which skirted the Aral, the Caspian and the Pontus, since the several rivers to be passed in it *flow south*; "the *rivers that flow north*" must be the Jaxartes and the Oxus, and I take it for granted that this northern route would have taken travellers to Antioch as the capital of Fu-lin. Neither John of Montecorvino nor Rubruck had to cross the "rivers that flow north," nor does Pegolotti recommend such a route except to those who may have merchandize to dispose of at Urgendj (*see Yule, Cathay and the Way Thither*, p. 288).

3. Who were the informants through whom the name Fu-lin became first known in China?

We know from the *Kiu-t'ang-shu* (*R. O.*, pp. 55 and 105, K 33) that the emperor Yang-ti wished to open intercourse with Fu-lin, but did not succeed. Professor Chavannes, who thinks of Constantinople, maintains that the name Fu-lin became known in China through the Western Turks, and he refers to the relations of those Turks with the Byzantine Court. "A Chinese envoy at the court of the Turkish Great Khan," he says, "may have met some of these Greeks, or heard them spoken about; and thus the name of Constantinople came to

China in its form *Polin*, given to it by the Greeks themselves according to Mas'udi." I wish to offer a somewhat different explanation. In the introduction to the chapter on the western countries the *Sui-shu* (chap. 83, p. 1) confirms the emperor Yang-ti's desire to have communication with as many countries as possible; the emperor, therefore, sent expeditions under Wei Tsié (韋節), author of a lost work, called *Si-fan-ki* (西蕃記) and quoted in the *T'ung-tiên* in connection with the Ephthalites, and Tu Hing-man (杜行滿). The latter visited the regions of Western Turkestan. Other officials were sent to Japan, Siam, etc.¹ After that he appointed Pei K'ü to a special post in north-west Kan-su with a view of inducing foreign countries to send envoys to China. From the account of Possi (波斯, i. e. Persia, chap. 83, p. 16) we learn that Yang-ti had deputed an envoy by the name of Li Yü (李昱) for the special purpose of persuading the Persians to send a mission to China, and Persian ambassadors actually came to China together with Li Yü, offering tribute to the court. This Persian embassy, according to the *Ts'ö-fu-yüan-kui* (chap. 970, p. 3), arrived with the envoys of quite a number of other states in 616 A. D., probably a few years earlier, since the wording of this record, though entered under that special year, seems to involve the Ta-yé period (605 to 617 A. D.) generally as the date of arrival.

When Yang-ti's envoy Li Yü arrived in Persia, the Persian throne was occupied by Khosru II, the bitterest enemy of all the Christians, including his political opponent, the emperor Heraclius. Syria was again held by the Romans, after it had been devastated by the Persians a generation ago. Antioch, already reduced to great straits by the earthquake of 525 A. D., had been sacked and destroyed by Khosru I in 540 A. D. If Antioch was the capital of old Ta-ts'in, or as I maintain, of its equivalent, Fu-lin, the fall of this city would mark an event in the interpretation of the name inasmuch as a second Antioch had been built on Persian ground. Much of the mystery surrounding the Ta-ts'in and Fu-lin question may be explained thereby. I quote Rawlinson's *The Seventh Great Oriental Monarchy* (London, 1876, p. 395):

"The Persian prince [Khosru I] after the fall of Antioch

¹ See *Ts'ö-fu-yüan-kui*, chap. 662, p. 22 seq.

passed the winter in building and beautifying a Persian Antioch in the neighbourhood of Ctesiphon, assigning it as a residence to his Syrian captives, for whose use he constructed public baths and a spacious hippodrome, where the entertainments familiar to them from their youth were reproduced by Syrian artists. The new city was exempt from the jurisdiction of Persian satraps, and was made directly dependent upon the king, who supplied it with corn gratuitously, and allowed it to become an inviolable asylum for all such Greek slaves as should take shelter in it, and be acknowledged as their kinsmen by any of the inhabitants. A model of Greek civilization was thus brought into close contact with the Persian court." Rawlinson adds in a footnote: "Here the Oriental accounts are in entire accord with the Greek. Mirkhond and Tabari relate at length the construction of this new Antioch in the vicinity of Al Modain, adding that the name given to it was Rumia (Rome), and that it was an exact copy of the town upon the Orontes."

The captivity of the Antiochian christians is referred to by Barhebræus¹ and in Mar Amr's biographies of the Nestorian patriarchs.² Tabari describes the new city in two passages³ with some detail. The great Persian king had endeavoured to build this new Antioch just like the old city in Syria, and when the captives entered its gates, everyone of them found a home so similar to the one he had left in Syria that he might imagine to be there. Khosru I did not, at least at first, interfere with their Christian idiosyncracies, but the history of the Nestorian patriarchs in the sequel abounds with examples of that tenacity with which the heroes among them would rather

¹ J. B. Abbeloos and Tho. J. Lamy, *Gregorii Barhebræi Chronicon Ecclesiasticum*, Paris 1877, II 86: "Hic (Chosroës Anuschervan) post annos octo Antiochiam invasit incenditque, ejus vero incolas captivos abduxit atque eis Mahuzam condidit, quam Antiochiam appellavit, eosque illic habitare jussit." Mahuza is explained by Assemani (*Bibl. Or.* III Pt. ii, p. 761) to be a city in Babylonia "apud Ctesiphontem ex altera fluminis parte, ad provinciam patriarchalem pertinens, eademque Bagdadi suburbium, et Carcha, Corch seu Charch, appellatur." Professor Jastrow tells me that *mahuza* is Babylonian for *city*.

² Henricus Gismondi S. J., *Maris Amri et Slibae De Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria*, Part II, containing the Latin version, Rome 1897, p. 24.

³ Th. Nöldeke, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber zur Zeit der Sasaniden*, Leiden 1879, pp. 165 and 239.

undergo martyrdom of any kind than cease to be faithful to their traditions. Many of them are recorded to have suffered death and torture under the threats of Persian kings and Arabic caliphs. It is to this virtue of the Syrian captives that Tu Huan, the author of the *Hing-king-ki* (杜環行經記), who had been made a prisoner and retained in Persia for ten years after the battle of Tharaz in 751 A. D., refers when he says of the people of Fu-lin, which country he places in the west of Sham (苦, = Damask): "*If they live as captives in foreign states they will rather accept death than change their national customs.*" I have adopted Mr. Playfair's improved translation of this passage, though I do not with him apply it to the Israelites in exile, but to the Christians in their second Antioch near Madain.¹ A prominent case of Christian martyrdom has been recorded in Mar Amr's work (*op. cit.*, p. 37) as having occurred in the third year of Abul-Abbas (752 A. D.; "per id tempus martyrium fecit Israel medicus, cui Deus requiem concedat"). Assemani (II, p. 432) refers to it in connection with the imprisonment of the patriarch Jacob (754—773 A. D.) by the caliph Abu-Jafar, under whose reign, just at the time when Tu Huan himself lived as a captive in Persia, the Syrian Christians suffered more than ever under the persecutions of Mohammedan potentates. These were the outposts of the people of Fu-lin, who may have furnished the Chinese envoy to Khosru II, Li Yü, with the accounts of their country in Syria, and if the envoy's visit to the Persian court, placed in the Ta-yé period by the Chinese historians, took place in the earlier part of it, when Syria was still protected by the Roman army, this would be a sufficient reason why Yang-ti's wish to communicate with the mother country Fu-lin could not be fulfilled. Such certainly was the state of things previous to the year 611 A. D., when Apameia and Antioch were sacked by the Persians under Khosru II. The Emperor's commissioner in Central Asia, Pei K'ü, who shared his master's ambition to see ambassadors of all the great countries of Asia at the steps of the dragon throne, succeeded in a wonderful manner; for he communicated with all, "only T'ién-chu (India) and Fu-lin (Syria) he did not reach to his regret."²

¹ Cf. Playfair, "The Mystery of Ta-ts'in" in *Journal of the China Br., R. A. S.*, Vol. XX, 1885, p. 78, referring to *R. O.*, pp. 83 and 116, Q. 45.

² 獨天竺拂菻不至爲恨, *T'ang-shu*, chap. 221A, p. 25B.

4. The king of Fu-lin Po-to-li.

I have always been of opinion that Ta-ts'in and Fu-lin have to be looked upon as the representatives of the Christian world. Even in the early accounts of Ta-ts'in we may notice an ecclesiastical colouring. "Their kings are not permanent rulers, but they appoint men of merit. When a severe calamity visits the country, or untimely rain-storms, the king is deposed and replaced by another. The one relieved from his duties submits to his degradation without a murmur."¹ This is clearly neither a Roman Emperor, nor a praetor or proconsul, but a patriarch of the Christian Church, the patriarch of Antioch as the head of all the Christians in Asia. With the settling of so many Syrian Christians in Persia after the fall of Antioch in 540 A. D., the Nestorian patriarch in Persia could perhaps lay claim to that dignity.² His residence in exile was merely a makeshift; to his own flock and to the Chinese behind them he was the patriarch of all the Christians, whatever the heterodox clergy in the west may have thought of it. It was the Nestorian patriarch who sent the first Christian missionaries to China, and whether he did so under orders from a still higher patriarch in Antioch, or on his own authority, it seems not easy to decide. We have a direct allusion to this crux by a Byzantine author, the archimandrite Nilos Doxopatres, a notary in the service of the patriarch of Constantinople, who in 1143 A. D. wrote, for king Rogers II of Sicily, a short treatise on the patriarchal thrones.³ Doxopatres may have been a biassed judge owing to his connection with the orthodox church, for he seems to ignore the schism when he says that "the patriarch of Antioch was in charge of all Asia and Anatolia and even India, whither he had sent a katholikos ordained by himself, styled the one of Romogyris, and also of Persia and Babylon, called Bagdad in his time,

¹ *Hôu-han-shu*, R. O., pp. 41 and 100, E 19 and 20.

² According to Assemani, *Bibl. Or.*, III Pt ii, p. 617, the Nestorian Archbishop at Seleucia and the Metropolitan of Persia had to proceed to Antioch for their ordination by the Patriarch previous to 498 A. D., after which time the "Catholicus" of the Nestorians claimed the title of Patriarch, in order to be relieved of the perilous journey to Antioch.

³ Krumbacher, *Gesch. d. byzantin. Litteratur*, 2nd ed., München 1897, p. 415 seq.

and that he had under him altogether thirteen metropolitans.”¹ We know that the early Christians in India were Nestorians. The discovery of crosses resembling in shape the one appearing above the Nestorian tablet of Si-an-fu and, moreover, surrounded by Pehlevi inscriptions² points to the Nestorians in Persia as their originators.

Doxopatres' statement seems to show that the patriarch of Antioch (i. e. of Syria or Ta-ts'in) was at least the *nominal* head of the Christians of Asia and that the several metropolitans, including those of the Nestorians in Persia and in India, were nominally appointed under his authority. If the patriarch of the Nestorians appointed his own men to the Persian sees and to those of India and China, as we have every reason to assume, he may either have had this power delegated on him, or he may have acted on a self-assumed authority, looking upon himself as the patriarch of Antioch living in exile. According to my personal view it is the patriarch at the head of the Christians in Asia who is meant by the term “king of Fu-lin,” or „of Ta-ts'in,” in the later texts. To support this theory I wish to refer to an account of Ta-ts'in dating within scarcely a generation after the time when Nilos Doxopatres wrote that treatise according to which the “patriarch of Antioch” appoints the heads of all the other churches in Asia, including the one of the Christians in India. This it appears to me we may infer from Chau Ju-kua's texts regarding Ta-ts'in and T'iên-chu (usually translated by India, but here covering the Christian settlements in that country). Chau Ju-kua says of his T'iên-chu: “The country is subordinate to the country of Ta-ts'in and its chiefs are selected *by* Ta-ts'in.”³ I have endeavoured to explain this, at first sight startling, assertion by the relations existing, previous to the arrival of the Portuguese, between the Indian church of St. Thomas and the Nestorian patriarch as the ecclesiastical “King of Ta-

¹ Πάλιν ὁ Ἀντιοχείας κατεῖχεν ἅπασαν τὴν Ἀσίαν καὶ Ἀνατολὴν αὐτὴν τε τὴν Ἰνδίαν, ἔπου καὶ ἕως τοῦ νῦν Καθολικὸν χειροτονῶν στέλλας τὸν καλούμενον Ῥωμογύρεως καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Περσίαν, ἔτι καὶ αὐτὴν τὴν Βαβυλῶνα τὴν νῦν καλουμένην Βαγδά καὶ κεῖ γὰρ ἔστειλεν ὁ Ἀντιοχείας ἔχει οὖν μητροπολεῖς σήμερον δεκατρεῖς. *Varia Sacra Stephani le Moyne*, Leiden 1685, II, p. 211 seq. Cf. Renaudot, *Ancient Accounts of India and China*, London 1733, p. 119.

² J. Richter, *Indische Missionsgeschichte*, Gütersloh 1906, p. 36.

³ 天竺國隸大秦國所立國主悉由大秦選擇.

ts'in."¹ On entering deeper into the subject I am encouraged in maintaining this view,² though there seems to be some doubt as to who the real chief of the church has been, whether the patriarch of Antioch or the one of the Nestorians in Persia. The Nestorian primate, to whom part of his jurisdiction may have been ceded by the Patriarch of Antioch (*Privilegium a Patriarcha Antiocheno concessum Primati Seleuciensi ut Episcopus ordinare possit*. Assemani, III Pt i, p. 145), seems to have been more settled in his authority in later centuries, when the extension of his dominion had grown too much for his western colleague, than in ancient times. I do not venture to say that Nestorian patriarchs called themselves "Patriarchs of Antioch." There is, however, a strange synchronism between the statement, said to be the result of an error by Assemani (*Bibl. Orient.*, III Pt. i, p. 289: "Golius apud Hottingerum in *Bibl. Or.*, p. 62") to the effect that Elias III, catholic of the Nestorians 1176—1190, was

¹ See "Chao Ju-kua's Ethnography" in *Journ. of the R. Asiat. Soc.*, July 1906, pp. 496—499.

² Ample material will be found in W. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen*, Gütersloh, 1877, and Richter's *Indische Missionsgeschichte*. The following sentences are selected from Capt. Charles Swanston's paper "A memoir of the Primitive Church of Malayala, or of the Syrian christians of the Apostle Thomas from its first rise to the present time" in *Journ. of the R. Asiat. Soc.*, Vol. i, pp. 172—192, and Vol. ii, pp. 51—62 and 243—247.

"In 825, a merchant named Job conducted into Malabar, from Babylon, two Syrian ecclesiastics, Mar Saul and Mar Ambrose, sent by the Nestorian patriarch to rule over the church of St. Thomas." "These prelates governed the church in Trovancór for many years." "They were followed by a succession of teachers from Syria, who ruled over the church" (i, p. 178). "The authority of the Syrian bishops extends to all temporal and spiritual matters" (p. 180—181). "The Nestorian patriarch of Babylon,—a vague appellation, which has been successfully applied to the royal seat of Seleucia, of Ctesiphon, and of Bagdad" (p. 183). "Whatever credit may be thought due to the current tradition of these Christians, that the Apostle Thomas planted the seeds of the Gospel among them, so much may be considered established beyond contradiction, that they existed in Trovancór as a flourishing people, connected with the Syrian church, from the first centuries of the Christian era" (ii, p. 234). "Their liturgy is that which was formerly read in the churches of the *Patriarch of Antioch*, and their language is the *Syriac*" (p. 237). "They hold in the highest respect their *Patriarch of Antioch* or *Mosul*, and make mention of him in their prayers" (p. 239).

called "Patriarch of Antioch," and Chau Ju-kua's source, the *Ling-wai-tai-ta*, published in 1178, which says that the king of Ta-ts'in ("Patriarch of Antioch") appoints the lord of T'ién-chu (here ruler over the Christians in India). Assemani (l. c.) admits that the Melchite, Maronite and Jacobite Syrians gave that title to their patriarchs, but by no means the Nestorians. For Assemani's views on the patriarchal title among Nestorians see also *Bibl. Or.*, III, p. 57 seq.

Chau Ju-kua's account of Ta-ts'in¹ is mixed up with a good deal of ancient lore, of which it has to be freed before being taken into consideration. Thanks to the discovery of Professor Tsuboi of Tokio, who drew attention to the *Ling-wai-tai-ta* by Chóu K'ü-fei,² we are able to trace about one-third of the substance of Chau Ju-kua's work to this earlier writer, who had collected notices from personal enquiries, but did not publish them for a number of years. until he became tired of so many questions addressed to him about them by his friends. Thus the preface of his work, which may have been partly written some time before its publication, happens to be dated 1178 A. D., i. e. thirty-five years after the time in which Doxopates wrote his treatise. It contains the account of Ta-ts'in partly copied by Chau Ju-kua, and in its simplicity makes the impression of a contemporaneous record.³

Chóu K'ü-fei says (chap. 3, p. 1): "The king is styled Ma-lo-fu" (王號麻囉弗, in Cantonese *ma-lo-fat*, or giving the last character its probable old sound: *ma-lo-pat*). Since *fu* 弗 occurs in a Sanskrit transcription for *bha* (see Julien, *Méthode*, etc., p. 104, No. 309), we may read: *ma-lo-pa*. This I look upon as the title by which "the king," or in this case the patriarch, was known to Chóu K'ü-fei's informants. It seems to correspond to Syriac *Mar-Aba*, which was indeed one of the titles by which the patriarch could be addressed. *Mar* is a title of honour given to learned devotees among the Nestorians, somewhat like our "Venerable,"⁴ *Aba* means "father." *Mar-Aba* may thus be translated by "Venerable Father." Its

¹ *R. O.*, pp. 92—96 and 120—122.

² "Cheu Ch'üfe's Aufzeichnungen über die fremden Länder", etc., in *Actes, XIIe Congrès Int. des Orient.*, Rome 1899, II, pp. 69—125.

³ Tsuboi, *op. cit.*, p. 107—110.

⁴ "*Mar*, Syriace, Dominus meus, ut post Assemanum observant docti Hagiographi", Ducange, *Glossarium*, etc., ed. L. Favre, s. v. *Mar*.

Greek and Latin equivalent was *Patricius* (πατρίκιος, *patrik*).¹ "Patricius," as a title, may be applied to a number of high positions in the ancient west. Petros Patrikios, the emperor Justinian's ambassador to the Eastern Goths in 534 A. D. and to king Kosru of Persia in 550 and 560, held this dignity.² Roman prefects and even church dignitaries could hold this title after Constantinus the Great, its supposed creator.³ But I cannot quote any particular instance in which it applies to an oriental patriarch of either Antioch or Madain.⁴ The root *patrik* would be an excellent equivalent for Chinese *po-to-lik*. But the Aramean form for the word "patriarch" itself, *batrirk*, would be fully as good from a linguistic point of view and would suit even much better on account of its sense. I do not, therefore, hesitate to adhere to my original identification of the old sound *po-to-lik* with *batrirk* against Chavannes' βασιλεύς.

Two years before Chóu K'ü-fei published his accounts of Ta-ts'in and T'ién-chu, in 1176 A. D. the Nestorian church of Bagdad was under its patriarch Elias III, elected and ordained at Madain, where he was endowed with a greenish cloak, "*pallio amictus pistacini coloris*" (Mar Amr, ed. Gismondi, II, p. 64). The sacred gown here translated by pallium is by later authors described as a kind of "pluviale," or rain cloak. The mistaken description of this gown may have caused the Chinese author to speak of a "green" (青) umbrella, by which the "king of Ta-ts'in" is protected when appearing in public. Elias III distinguished himself by his architectural works. He re-built the patriarchal palace together with the

¹ "Quem enim Graeci Latinique *Patricium* vocant, is dicitur Syriace *Aba*, et praefixo *Mar*, seu Domini titulo, *Mar-Aba*," Assemani, *op. cit.* III, Part ii, p. 92 (quoting Bar Hebraeus).

² Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

³ Du Cange, s. v. *Patricius*.

⁴ As a title, though it seems certain that Cosmas Indicopleustes (Migne, p. 125) speaks of a "Catholic of Persia," i. e. the head of the Nestorian church, under the name of Πατρίκιος; at a time when, according to other sources (Amr, p. 23), Mar Aba occupied the patriarchal see (536—552 A. D.). This may be the basis of Assemani's identification of the titles *Patricius* and *Mar Aba* (cf. also J. W. McCrindle's note on the passage referred to in *The Christian Topography of Cosmas*, London 1897, p. 24).

Church ("cellam in aedibus Romanorum reaedificare coepit unâ cum ecclesia,"—says Mar Amr, cf. Barhebraeus' *Chronicon*, Abbeloos and Lamy, Vol. iii, p. 370), while according to the Chinese account of 1178 the king of Ta-ts'in had a subway built from his palace to the Hall of Worship (*R. O.*, p. 93). Although the Nestorian patriarchs were even at this time crowned at Madain, their place of residence had since the eighth century been at Bagdad, for which reason Ch'ou K'ü-fei, and with him Chau Ju-kua, speak of Ta-ts'in as "the general meeting ground for the nations of the Western heaven and the place where the foreign merchants of Ta-shih [Arabs and Persians] assemble." *R. O.*, R 1.

The king of Fu-lin, who in 643 A. D., more than five hundred years before the time of Elias III, sent an embassy to China, did so at a time when Nestorians were in full grace with the Chinese court. The emperor T'ai-tsung favoured them with a message under his imperial seal and graciously granted presents of silk.¹ The king's name, as entered in the two versions of the *T'ang-shu*, was *Po-to-li* (波多力, in Cantonese *Po-to-lik*). What I consider to be the Syriac transcription of this title could, of course, apply to the orthodox patriarch Mar Joannes, the pontifex of Antioch, who died after eighteen years' government in 649 A. D.,² and who is distinctly described as *batrirk* ܒܬܪܝܩ. In his case—at that early time—the title *batrirk* seems certainly unquestionable, whereas his Nestorian contemporary Jesujab II is styled *katulik* ܟܬܠܝܩ.³ On the other hand I observe that the Nestorian chiefs are styled *batrirk* in Mar Amr's biographies throughout, and that the Nestorians who erected the tablet of Si-an-fu say that this was done at the time when "the father of fathers" Mar Hanānjesus was the catholic *patriarch*.⁴ This shows that the title, whether accorded to their primate by orthodox writers or not, was claimed for him by his own

¹ *R. O.*, K 34 and L 41.

² Barhebraeus, *op. cit.*, I, p. 279.

³ Barhebr., II. p. 114. Regarding the titles by which the early Nestorian chiefs have been referred to see Christ. Harder, *Historiae Primitium ecclesiae Nestorianorum ab Amro filio Matthaei Arabice scriptae versionis specimen*. Neumünster, 1890, p. 4.

⁴ *batrirkis* in estrangelo characters, see Havret, *La stèle chrétienne*, etc., I, p. LXXIX.

subordinates, and thus circumstances may also favour the identification of the person called *Po-to-lik* with the patriarch Jesujab II, who was at the head of the Nestorian church from 627 to 646,—a man of great political importance, who had acted as ambassador of the Persian court to the emperor Heraclius. To whichever of the two dignitaries we may give the preference, we have to consider the ecclesiastical character of certain subsequent missions to China. One of these was sent in 719 A. D., when “their lord” (其主) deputed a chief of T’u-huo-lo (Tokharestan) on a mission to the Chinese court.¹ The Nestorian patriarch was probably in a position to do so through one of his subordinates, some bishop of Balkh, a city of T’u-huo-lo or Tokharestan. For only sixty-two years later the Nestorian chorepiscopus of Kumdan, Mar Idbuzid, who had his name engraved on the Nestorian tablet with those of his fellow priests in estrangelo characters, calls himself “son of Milis, priest of Balkh.” This Milis was evidently, like his son, a Nestorian priest, and since Idbuzid probably did not attain the dignity of chief of the church of Kumdan as a young man, which was the exception among Nestorian prelates, it would appear that the Nestorians actually had a church with priests in the city of Balkh about the time when the Fu-lin embassy of 719 A. D. came to China.² I am not aware that the Byzantine Romans had any relations with Tokharestan in 719 A. D., when they had a narrow escape of seeing their capital sacked by the moslems. A few months later Fu-lin sent “priests of great virtue” with tribute to China, a further reason for regarding these relations as more of an ecclesiastical than a political character. The *Ts’ö-fu-yüan-kui* places a mission of priests in the year 742 A. D.; while in 744, according to the Nestorian Inscription, “there was (it is not said when he had arrived) the Ta-ts’in priest *Ki-ho*, who had an audience with the Emperor.”

¹ R. O., K 38.

² Cf. Assemani, III Part ii, pp. 482, 550 and 727 seq: “In notitia Metropoleon apud Amrum *Halac* vigesimum locum occupat, quae eadem est ac Balcha.”

5. Political facts stated in Chinese records excluding identification with Constantinople.

The *Kiu-t'ang-shu* says: "Since the Ta-shī [Arabs] had conquered these countries they sent their commander-in-chief Mo-i [Muawia] to besiege the capital city [of Fu-lin]; by means of an agreement they obtained friendly relations, and asked to be allowed to pay every year tribute of gold and silk; *in the sequel they became subject to the Ta-shī* [Arabs]." ¹

Professor Chavannes agrees with me in explaining the name Mo-i (摩拽) as a mutilation of the sound Muawia. He does not, however, refer it to the great Muawia, who, before he became caliph, had been appointed Governor of Syria (Fu-lin) under Othman, but to his son Yezid, in order to show that the passage refers to one of the sieges of Constantinople. In doing so he seems to overlook the fact that Fu-lin was not only *conquered*, but "*in the sequel became subject to the Arabs*;" and that this means much more than a mere temporary conquest may be shown from a passage of the *Kiu-t'ang-shu* (chap. 198 p. 29), which states that the Ta-shī, i. e. the Arabs of the caliph empire, "in the beginning of the Lung-so period (661—664 A. D.), on having defeated Po-ssī (Persia) and Fu-lin, began to be in the possession of rice and bread stuff." ² Fu-lin can in this case only refer to Syria. Constantinople was never subject to the Arabs, nor did the imperial dominions outside of Asia supply them with grain. ³

¹ 遂臣屬大食. *R. O.*, K 35; cf. L 43.

² 初擊破波斯又破拂菻始有米麵之屬.

³ Something similar is remarked in the *Sung-shī*, ch. 90, p. 18, in the account of a mission from the Ta-shī having arrived at the Imperial court in 995 A. D.; but the country is there referred to under its old name Ta-ts'in. The emperor asked the Ta-shī (Arab, or Persian, of the Caliph empire, then divided into numerous branches) about his country, upon which he replied: "It is conterminous with the country of Ta-ts'in, and considering it a dependency, it is now my native country which has control over it" (與大秦國相鄰爲其統屬今本國所管之). Since Syria had been conquered and was being held by the Fatimide Caliphs residing at Cairo at the end of the tenth Century, the mission referred to seems to have come from the Fatimide portion of the Ta-shī territories.

6. Fu-lin = Bethlehem.

My identification, which may at first sight seem strange, is based on the Nestorian inscription, in which it is shown that the priests, with their "luminous religion," came from Ta-ts'in, and that "*a virgin gave birth to the holy one in Ta-ts'in* (室女誕聖於大秦)." ¹ Since Ta-ts'in, according to all Chinese accounts, is identical with Fu-lin, this is equivalent to saying that "*a virgin gave birth to the holy one in Fu-lin.*" The old sound of these two syllables, as shown above, was, or could be, *pat-lam*; and it seemed to me that "Bethlehem" is a much more appropriate etymology than *polin*. In those days, when an ecclesiastical current ran through the politics of the world, east and west, Chinese literature called the great nations by the birth-place of the founders of their religions. Thus the *T'ang-shu* account of India (chap. 221^A, p. 24^B) is introduced by the words "The country of T'ien-chu, also called Mo-k'ie-to," ² because Mo-k'ie-to, i. e. Magadha, was the little country where Buddha was born. Later on Arabia received its name *T'ien-fang* (天方, "the Heavenly Square," i. e. the Kaaba) from the sanctuary in Mohammed's birth-place. Similarly we read in Chinese books: "Ta-ts'in, also called Fu-lin," i. e. Bethlehem, because it was the birth-place of Christ.

7. The Language of Fu-lin.

We possess about a dozen transcriptions in Chinese characters said to represent words of the language of Fu-lin. They occur in the eighteenth chapter of the well-known cyclopædia *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* (酉陽雜俎) by Tuan Ch'öng-shī (段成式), who died in 863 A. D. ³

The most reliable edition of this work, the quotations from which in cyclopædias, dictionaries and concordances of the present dynasty contain a number of fatal misprints, is the one published in the Ming collection *Tsin-tai-pi-shu* (津逮祕書), a rare work, of which there is a copy among the Chinese books of Columbia Library in New York. It appears that a

¹ See Havret, *La stèle chrétienne*, I, p. XXIII.

² 天竺國或曰摩伽陀.

³ Giles, *Chinese Biogr. Dict.*, p. 788.

bibliophile by the name of Hu Chōn-hiang (胡震亨) had planned the publication of a collection of rare prints under the title *Pi-ts'ò-hui-han* (祕冊彙函), but that before the work saw the light, the blocks from which it was to have been printed were partly destroyed in a conflagration, when the damaged stock of blocks fell into the hands of Mau Tsin (毛晉, 1598—1657 A. D.), who published it under the above title with a number of additions constituting the greater part of the collection, in all 144 works. The texts added by Mau Tsin bear on every page the name of his studio *Ki-ku-ko* (汲古閣), and the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* is among them.¹

The best edition next to this is the one of the collection *Hiau-tsin-t'au-yüan* (學津討原), published in 1805 by Chang Hai-p'ōng (張海鵬) in Chau-wōn near Soochow,² who copied his text from Mau Tsin's edition, which he compared with original sources.

The eighteenth chapter of the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* is inscribed *mu-p'ien* (木篇), i. e., "chapter on trees," and treats chiefly on exotic trees and shrubs, many of which are said to be indigenous of India, Persia, or Fu-lin, giving the names used in those countries in the shape of transcriptions. I have tried to identify some of these names with the assistance of my colleagues Professors R. Gottheil and A. V. W. Jackson, and have come to the conclusion that they are neither Latin nor Greek, but Syriac.

As to the question who may have supplied the information regarding these foreign words, we receive a clue in the description, on p. 9,³ of the *Asa foetida* tree, called *a-weï* (阿魏). Having said that it comes from K'ie-shō-na (伽闍那) in Northern India, i. e. Ghazna in the present Afghanistan, where it is called *hing-yü*,⁴ and that it also comes from Persia, where it is called *a-yü* (阿虞), and having outlined his description of the tree, the author continues: "This is identical with what the priest Wan of the Fu-lin country says; the priest Ti-p'o [Dêva?] of the Mo-kié-t'o [Maghada] country says, etc. (拂林國僧鬱所說同摩伽陀國僧提婆言 etc.)."

¹ *Hui-ko-shu-mu*, IV, pp. 54—63.

² See my "*Die Länder des Islam nach chinesischen Quellen*," p. 17.

³ I shall quote numbers of pages from the edition of 1805.

⁴ 形虞 = Skt. *hingu*, Hind. *hing*, Dakh. *hingu*, and similarly with various foreign writers. See Yule, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, s. v. Hing.

We may be allowed to assume from this passage that the information on plants growing in Fu-lin and their native names were supplied by a priest coming from Fu-lin called Wan. Here two priests, the one of Fu-lin (Bethlehem), the other of India (Magadha), are placed in contrast with each other as representing Christian and Buddhist sources of information.

The following extracts are from the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu*. The headings ("The Olive," "The Fig," etc.) have been added by me.

1. The Olive (p. 10^B).

"The *ts'i-t'un* tree (齊 曠, Canton Dial. *ts'ai-t'un*) comes from Po-ssä (Persia). It also comes from Fu-lin. In Fu-lin it is called *ts'i-t'i* (齊 虛, Canton Dial. *ts'ai-t'ai*). The tree measures two or three chang (= 15½ or 23¼ feet¹) in height. Its bark is green; it has white blossoms like the pumelo (*yu*, 柚), and these are very fragrant. The fruits are like those of the *yang-t'au* (楊 桃, *Actinidia chinensis*, Pl., "a climbing shrub which bears edible fruit about the size of a plum," Henry, "Chinese names of Plants," in *J. of the China Branch, R. As. Soc.*, 1887, p. 281) and ripen in the fifth month (June). The inhabitants of the west press them into oil used for frying cakes and fruits, as we in China use *kü-shöng* (巨 勝, a kind of hemp seed? Very doubtful, cf. Bretschneider, *Botanicum Sinicum*, III, pp. 376—378)."

There can scarcely be any doubt about the identity of this tree with the olive. *Ts'ai-t'un* is Persian and Turkish *zeitun* زیتون, and *ts'ai-t'ai* of the language of Fu-lin is Aramean *zaita* ܙܝܬܐ. See Immanuel Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, p. 136, who says that the word applies both to the tree (*Olea europaea*, L.) and its fruit. No such name is known in Greek.

¹ The foot of the T'ang Dynasty, during whose reign the text of the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* has originated, was much smaller than the present Chinese foot. Cf. my notes in "Bausteine zu einer Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur," *T'oung-pao*, Vol. vii, pp. 502—505. The Chinese foot, *ch'ü*. 尺, of the K'ai-yüan period (713—742 A. D.) measured about 23 ½ cm., or say 9 ¼ inches English measurement. This has to be taken into account in forming an approximate idea of the several sizes placed on record in our text. The *chang*, 丈, or Chinese rod, which is now usually taken as 11¾, would thus correspond to scarcely 7¾ English feet in the T'ang period.

2. *The Fig* (p. 12^B).

"*A-i* (阿驛, Canton Dial. *a-yik*). In the country of Po-ssī (Persia) they call it *a-i* (阿驛, C. D. *a-yik*; the second character was read *jit* or *yit* during the T'ang period, see *T'ang-shu-shī-yin*, chap. 13, p. 4). In Fu-lin it is called *ti-ni* (底橘; the second character appears as 珍, *chōn*, in all the other editions and quotations I have seen, a mistake which has clearly arisen from a variant of the second character 枰, K'ang-hi, Rad. 75, 5, being confounded with 玆, another form for *chōn*). The tree grows to a height of 14 or 15 *ch'i* (about 11 feet). Twigs and leaves are plentiful and luxuriant. Its leaves have five lobes (葉有五出) like those of the *pei-ma* (稗麻 = 蓖麻, *Ricinus communis*). The plant has no flowers,¹ but fruits. The fruit is reddish like the *pei-tzī* (稗子 = 稗柿子, the Chinese *Diospyros glutinifera*?), and its taste resembles that of the sweet persimmon (甘柿, *kan-shī*). Once a month there is a crop."


The *Pōn-ts'au-kang-mu* (chap. 31, p. 26) has under the head of *wu-hua-kuo*, the "flowerless fruit," the name *ying-jū-kuo*, 映日果, representing the old sound *ang-it* and apparently a transcription of Hindustani *anjir*. The Persian name, according to the *Yu-yang-tsa-tsu* is *a-yit* = *ayir*, which is near enough, though not as perfect a transcription as *ang-it*, to Persian *anjir* انجير, a fig. The Aramean name, according to Lōw, p. 390, is *te(n)ta* ܬܢܬܐ, or *tēna* ܬܢܐ, cf. Biblical *teēnah* תֵּנָה. Our Chinese transcription *ti-ni* is certainly much nearer the Aramean word than the Greek *συκη* for fig, or *ἐπιδείος* for caprificus.

3. *The Myrtle* (p. 11^B).

"The *mo* tree (沒, Canton Dial. *mut*, used up to the present day as a transcription for *mur*, the name given to the "myrrh" in several western Asiatic languages, but here clearly resorted to as a transcription for Persian, or Pehlevi, *mürd* مود, which

¹ A botanical prejudice, which has caused the Chinese to call the *Ficus carica* the "flowerless fruit" (*wu-hua-kuo*, 無花果) and induced Albertus Magnus to say of the fig-tree: "fructum profert sine flore" (*De vegetabilibus*, ed. Meyer and Jessen, Berlin 1867, p. 386).

Professor Jackson informs me occurs in the Bundelesh in the sense of "myrtle") comes from Po-ssï (Persia). In Fu-lin it is called *a-tz'i* (阿桂, the last character being also read *so*, *tsò* and *tsok*, K'ang-hi, Rad. 120, 10, and Chalmers' *K'ang-hi*, p. 219). It grows to a height of one chang (7 3/4 feet) and more. Its bark is greenish (or, blueish) white. Its leaves resemble those of the *huai* (槐, now *Sophora Japonica* L., but possibly differing in ancient times, see Bretschneider, *Bot. Sin.*, II, p. 379), though they are longer. The flower resembles that of the *Kü* (橘, Citrus of some kind), and it has large seeds (or, berries), black in colour, resembling in size those of the *shan-chu-yü* (山茱萸, *Cornus officinalis*, S. & Z., see Bretschneider, *Bot. Sin.* II, p. 326 and III, p. 507 seq.). Their taste is sourish sweet and they are eatable."

I do not hesitate to identify the botanical features of this plant with those of the myrtle, the Aramean name of which is *asa* ; Löw, p. 50: *myrtus communis*, L.

4. *Galbanum* (p. 11).

"*Pi-ts'i* (番爾齊, Canton Dial. *pīt-ts'ai*) comes from Po-ssï (Persia). In Fu-lin it is called *han-po-li-t'o* (預勃梨朶; this is the reading of the *Tsin-tai-pi-shu* edition; other editions have substituted 毛頁 *tu*, or *tuk*, for the first character, and the *T'u-shu-tsi-ch'öng* gives it this sound, which is clearly an error easily explained by the similarity of the two characters, by adding in a scholion: 音奪, 'having the sound *to*,' C. D. *tüt*; the edition of 1805 prints 預, *hü*, or *huk*. Regarding *han*, 預, see K'ang-hi, Rad. 181, 3). It grows to a height of fully one chang (7 3/4 feet) and has a circumference of more than a ch'i (9 1/4 inches). Its bark is green, thin and very glossy. The leaves are like those of the *a-weï* (*Asa foetida*), each three leaves growing on the twigs. It has neither flowers nor fruits. The inhabitants of the west usually cut them in the eighth month (September), and till the twelfth month (January) further trimming takes place. The new twigs are thus extremely rich and juicy, whereas without the trimming they would wither and die. When cut in the seventh month (August), the twigs yield a yellow juice somewhat like honey and slightly fragrant, which is used as a medicine for certain cures."

The Cantonese sound *pīt-ts'ai* is an excellent transcription of Persian *bīrzay* بیرزی, "Galbanum" (Johnson, p. 267). Its Aramean equivalent is *chelbānita* ܝܠܒܢܝܬܐ, the product of *Ferula galbaniflua*, Boiss. & Buhse, according to Löw, p. 163. The defenders of the identity of Fu-lin with Constantinople might point to Greek *χαλβάνη*, which is indeed its botanical equivalent, but Professor Gottheil informs me that *-ita* is a characteristic Aramean ending, which distinguishes it from other semitic dialects (bibl. *chelbenah* חלבנה, etc.) as well as from the Greek and Latin forms of the word, *χαλβάνη* and *galbanum*.

5. *The Nard* (p. 12).

"*Nai-chi* (柰祇. The first character according to K'ang-hi, Rad. 75, 9, could be read 乃 曷 切 = *not*; the second, as equivalent to 祇, could be read 丁 尼 切 = *ti*, Rad. 113, 4; the *Tsin-tai-pi-shu* edition confounds it with 祇, Rad. 113, 5. The old sound may thus be reconstructed as *not-ti*, which may stand for *nar-ti*, or *nard*) comes from the country of Fu-lin. It is a herbaceous plant (*miau*, 苗), three or four *ch'i* in height. Its roots are of the size of duck's eggs, its leaves are like garlic (*suan*, 蒜, *Allium sativum* L.). From the centre of the leaf rises a twig of great length, and on the stem there is a flower, six-lobed, of reddish white, with a brownish calyx, forming no fruit. The plant grows in the winter and dies in the summer, and it is related to our greens or wheat cereals. Its flowers are pressed into oil used as an ointment against colds. The king of Fu-lin and the nobles in his country all use it."

The name of this plant may be the Persian *nard* نرد, or Biblical *nard* נרד, or belong to any other dialect or language, since it seems to be international. Our author does not say anything about the language of Fu-lin, as he does in other accounts, and it apparently "comes from Fu-lin," because it is so largely used there. Löw, p. 368, gives *shebbalta* ܫܒܬܠܬܐ as its Aramean equivalent.

6. *Jasmine* (p. 12).

"*Yé-si-mi* (野 悉 蜜, Canton Dial. *yé-sik-mat*) comes from the country of Fu-lin. It also comes from the country of

Po-ssî (Persia). It is a herbaceous plant, seven or eight *ch'i* in height. Its leaves are like those of the plum-tree and grow ample all the year round; its flowers are five-lobed and white, and they form no fruits. When the blossoms open out, the whole country is filled by their flavour resembling (in this respect) the *chan-t'ang* (詹糖, a doubtful tree with fragrant flowers, Bretschneider, *Bot. Sin.* III, p. 467) of Ling-nan (Canton). The inhabitants of the west are in the habit of gathering its flowers, which they press into an oil of great fragrance and lubricity."

Persian *yasmin* یاسمین and Aramean *yasmin* یاسمین are clearly the equivalents of this name *yé-si-mi*, which has been known in China since about the year 300 A. D., when it was described in the *Nan-fang-ts'au-mu-chuang* (南方草木狀, chap. 1, p. 2) as being introduced by foreigners in Canton under the name of *yé-si-ming* (耶悉茗). In another passage of this work (chap. 2, p. 3) the Henna plant is said to have been introduced by foreigners together with the *yé-si-ming* and *mo-li* from the country of Ta-ts'in. The Jasmine plant and the *mo-li-hua* (茉莉花) are now synonyms, but since *mo-li* is described in a separate paragraph, in which it is said that "its flowers are white like those of the *ts'iang-mi* (薔薇, 'wall rose', Bretschneider, *Bot. Sin.*, III, p. 302) and its fragrance exceeds that of the *yé-si-ming*", it appears that in 300 A. D. it denoted some other fragrant garden plant, imported from Syria together with its name *mo-li*. The latter might be connected with molo, محلول (= μῶλυ, Löw, p. 317: *Peganum Harmala* L?). The old work referred to contains a number of other botanical names clearly of western origin, such as *hün-lu* (薰陸, old sound *hun-luk*), for "frankincense," which may be a transcription of Turkish *ghyúnluk* گونلک (cf. *R. O.*, p. 266 seq.), or *ho-li-lo* (訶梨勒, Canton Dial. *ho-li-lak*), the *Terminalia Chebula*, Retz, or Myrobalan, called *halilag* הלילג and similarly in old Hebrew medicinal works (Löw, p. 129). But since they have no immediate bearing on the Fu-lin problem, I shall not attempt to trace these names.

I do not wish to commit myself to identifications about which I do not feel tolerably confident both from the botanical and the linguistic point of view; but I hope to return to the subject as soon as I can offer some plausible suggestions

as to the five remaining plant names said to belong to the language of Fu-lin, viz: *a-po-ch'ön* (阿勃參), *a-pu-to* (阿菩禪), *kün-han* (群漢), *a-li-ho-t'o* (阿梨訶訶) and *a-li-k'ü-fa* (阿梨去伐?).

As to *a-pu-to*, stated (p. 9^B) under the name *po-na-so* (婆那娑) to come from Persia, the *Pön-ts'au-kang-mu* (chap. 31, p. 25) refers this name to the Jack fruit (*po-lo-mi*, 波羅蜜, *Artocarpus integrifolia*), and gives as its Fu-lin equivalent *a-sa-to* (阿薩禪). But I doubt whether the Jack fruit tree occurs in Syria, to say nothing of Greece. Mr. W. F. Meyers, in 1869, took up this subject in *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, Vol. iii, p. 85, where he says: "It may be remarked *en passant*, that an identification of the above and other sounds attributed in the *Pön-ts'au* to the language of Fu-lin might be of service in determining the precise region that is indicated by this name in Chinese literature." The few examples I have endeavoured to trace to their real linguistic origin seem to contain a broad hint as to the language of Fu-lin being Aramean, and to the country where it was spoken not being Constantinople, but Syria. Pure Syriac, or Aramean, was particularly the vernacular in use with the Nestorians not only in Syria, Mesopotamia, Chaldæa and Persia, but also in India, Tartary and China, whereas other denominations used a kind of Syriac mixed with Arabic and even Greek elements. See Assemani, *op. cit.*, p. 377 seq.

8. Pseudo-Fu-lin.

The account of Fu-lin as placed on record during the Sung dynasty, probably in connection with an embassy of 1081 A. D., has puzzled the Chinese as it is liable to puzzle us, if we compare its detail with that of older texts. It occurs in the *Sung-shih* (chap. 490, cf. *R. O.*, pp. 62—64, 108—109) and has been reproduced by Ma Tuan-lin (*Wön-hiën-t'ung-k'au*, chap. 330, cf. *R. O.*, pp. 88—91, 119—120). Ma Tuan-lin refers to "the historians of the Four Reigns" (四朝國史, cf. *R. O.*, p. 91, note), who held that "this country had not sent tribute to court up to the time of Yüan-fōng [1078—1086], when they sent their first embassy offering local produce", and he draws attention to certain discrepancies in the accounts of the T'ang and Sung dynasties.

In the interpretation of this mysterious text which I offered twenty-five years ago (*R. O.*, pp. 298—301) I had pointed out the possibility of its covering the Seldjuk dominions in Asia Minor. I am still inclined to maintain this view on geographical grounds, but venture to suggest a few slight changes in the text, which would place us in the position to adapt its contents to the political condition of the country in 1081 A. D., when its ruler is said to have sent ambassadors to China. The king, in the text referred to (*R. O.*, pp. 62 and 108: N 3) is styled *Miê-li-i-ling-kai-sa*, 滅力伊靈改撒, in Cantonese *mîl-ik-i-ling-koi-sât*. I still think that the two last characters, the old pronunciation of which must have been *kai-sât*, stand for Greek *καῖσαρ*, and that *ling*, 靈, is a somewhat imperfect attempt to render the sound *Rûm*.¹ “*Rûm kaisar*” would have to be looked upon as the equivalent of the title “Emperor of Rome, or the Romans” placed before the Chinese court in the garb of a Turkish combination analogous to such titles as “*Türgäsh kakhan*,” i. e. “the Great Khan of the *Türgäsh*” and many others occurring in the Old-Turkish stone inscriptions. The three first characters *miê-li-i* would represent the name of the ruler who calls himself “Emperor of Rome.” I have (*R. O.*, p. 299) drawn attention to the anachronism committed by the several learned sinologues who identified the name with that of Michael VII Parapinaces, who had been deposed and withdrawn into a convent since 1078 A. D. This was the reason which had induced me to think of the Seldjuk Soliman as the ruler adding the title “*kaisar*” to his own as “king of *Rûm*.” I did not realise then that in 1081, when that embassy arrived in China, another person lived in Asia Minor who actually claimed, and was subsequently granted, the title *καῖσαρ*; and I now agree with Chavannes in referring to Nicephorus Melissenus, the pretender who claimed to be emperor just about the time when the embassy referred to arrived in China. Michael VII Ducas had withdrawn into the convent of Studion early in 1078, when one of this generals, Nicephorus Botaniates, who had been stationed in Phrygia, came to Constantinople and was crowned as Michael’s successor on the 13. April 1078. He had to fight a number of claimants who would not

¹ It may not seem to be a scientific proof, if I refer to a Pidjin-English conversation with a Chinese cook, who asked for “one bottle that *leng* (rum)” to be served with a plum pudding.

recognise his authority. Chief among these was Nicephorus Melissenus, the descendant of a powerful family and husband of the sister of Alexius Comnenus, the emperor who succeeded Nicephorus Botaniates. Nicephorus Melissenus had made an agreement with the Seldjuk Turks of Iconium to the effect that, in consideration of their assisting him in gaining the throne, he would divide with them the provinces conquered by their united forces. No sooner was he sure of this support than he clad his feet in purple shoes, the insignia of Imperial dignity, and began to march about in Anatolia with the troops of his allies, the Turks. All the cities he approached opened their doors and recognised him as emperor, though he on his turn declared these same cities to belong to the Turks, so that through his treason the entire former proconsular part of Asia, Phrygia and Galatia fell into the hands of the Turks. From Nicaea he prepared an attack on Constantinople. Alexius, then a mere general, was instructed by Botaniates, the emperor, to meet him, but for reasons of his own he did not proceed and handed over command to a feeble eunuch, who had to withdraw from Nicaea at the end of 1080. Melissenus intended to attack Constantinople early in 1081, when after a medley of intrigues his brother-in-law Alexius was elected emperor by the acclamation of his army. Melissenus then joined arms with him, and after the two armies had taken the capital, the two relatives divided the empire between them. Alexius got the European provinces, *Melissenus received* an apanage and the title *καῖσαρ* (Anna Comnena, *Alexias*, ed. Schopen, Vol. i, p. 116. For further details see the historical works of Anna Comnena, Jo. Cinnamus and Nicephorus Bryennius in Niebuhr's *Corpus Scriptt. Hist. Byzant.*, and the abstract in W. H. Waddington's paper "Nicéphore Mélissène, prétendant au trône de Byzance" in *Revue numismatique*, Nouv. sér., Vol. viii, pp. 393—400).

Although the title "kaisar" is thus shown to have been officially conceded to Melissenus in the beginning of April 1081, the entire political situation seems to suggest that he actually claimed it, and probably had coins cast in his name as kaisar, ever since his commencing to pose as a pretender some time in 1078. If the embassy that arrived at the Chinese court in 1081 started from Asia Minor some time in 1080, there were at the time practically two rulers in the country dividing

supreme power between themselves, viz.: 1, Melissenus, the pretender, who considered himself emperor of Rome and claimed the title "kaisar", and 2, his ally, the Sultan of Iconium, who supported his claims and whose name was Soliman. Taking all this into consideration, we cannot well assume Soliman to have represented himself as *kaisar* in his credentials to the court of China. The one man who was a *kaisar* in Asia Minor by usurpation, if not by right, at that time, was Melissenus. This has led me to again examine the three characters preceding the words *ling-kai-sat* (= Rūm kaisar), and which I think might be a transcription of the kaisar's name, viz. *Miē-li-i*, 滅力伊, in Cantonese: *mīt-lik-i*.

The stumbling block in this name, it appears to me, is the third character 伊, *i*. In trying to find a solution to help us out of the difficulty I beg to call attention to a practice, occasionally noticeable in the prints of the Sung dynasty, by which some characters may be deprived of their radical or written with the wrong radical. Thus the character 獅, *shī*, "lion," in the *Hōu-han-shu* (*R. O.*, p. 101, E 39) appears as 師 in the Sung edition of 1242 (see facsimile, *R. O.*, p. 9). Chau Ju-kua (chap. 1, p. 17^B) has 靛, *ting*, for 靛, *tién*, "indigo". In the ethnical name *Sié-yen-t'o*, which is clearly the equivalent of the name *Sīr Tardusch* in the Old Turkish stone inscriptions, the second character 延, *yen*, must have been substituted for some character read *tan* (= *tar*), e. g. 誕, the original radical being suppressed (see my *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*, passim). If we assume, therefore, that the 伊 in the kaisar's name stands for what in its original transcription may have appeared as 蔀, the radical No. 140 being suppressed, such a change would not be without precedent. According to the *Chōng-tzī-t'ung* (quoted in K'ang-hi, Rad. 140, 6) 蔀 was used by mistake for 莠, and this character again, according to the *Tsi-yün*, could have the sound *sin*, or *sun* (聿尹切音莠, K'ang-hi, Rad. 140, 4; cf. Chalmers' *K'ang-hi*, p. 206^B, where among other sounds *sun*, 心盾, is given to the two interchangeable characters 莠 and 蔀). The kaisar's name may thus in its transcription be reconstructed into *Miē-li-sun*, or Cantonese *Mīt-lik-sun*, the finals *t* and *k* of which may disappear by elision so as to leave us as the equivalent of the probable old sound some such name as *Mī-lissun*. This I venture to look upon as the equivalent, trans-

mitted probably by an interpreter who spoke some Turkish dialect, of the Greek name Μελισσηνός.

I am encouraged in this view by the mention of a coin the description of which, after a slight, but plausible change in the text, seems to be traceable. The passage I refer to, *R. O.*, N 16) speaks of gold and silver coins without holes being cast in this country, which the people are forbidden to counterfeit and which are described by the following words:

面鑿彌勒佛皆爲王名

The change I wish to suggest in the text is the substitution of the character 背, *peï*, "the back," for 皆, *kié*, "all, alike;" "that is." The two characters are quite similar to each other and may easily be confounded. Moreover, *kié* gives a poor sense, whereas *peï* is constantly used in opposition to 面, *miên*, "the face," the two terms in numismatic texts meaning the "obverse" and "reverse" of a coin. I do not, therefore, look upon the words *mi-lö-fo* (彌勒佛), the standard transcription for "Maitrêya Buddha," as the king's name, but translate: "on the obverse [of the coin] is engraved a Maitrêya Buddha, on the reverse there is the king's name." It is quite probable that the ambassadors of 1081 brought coins with them to China and on enquiry declared that the legend on the reverse represented the king's name, and that some of these coins had been preserved in the Imperial collections at K'ai-fōng-fu, since according to Edkins (*Chinese Buddhism*, 2nd ed., p. 117, note) "the *Kin-shü-t'u-shu-pu* contains a rude representation of a gold coin of Mi-li-i-ling-kai-sa." I regret not to have had an opportunity of seeing the illustration referred to, because it might have given us a chance, rude though it probably is, to compare notes with a silver coin of Melissenus the pretender actually preserved to our days. The coin, which has been described by Waddington in the paper quoted from the *Revue numismatique*, is now in the Bibliothèque nationale in Paris. Mr. Waddington's illustration and description (Fig. 1) shows on the obverse the bust of the Virgin, facing, with hands held up in prayer, nimbus and the usual dress, the figure being described as μήτηρ θεοῦ in the customary abbreviation. On the reverse we find the legend Νικηφόρω δεσποτῇ τῷ Μελισσηνῷ in five lines.¹

¹ Cf. Warwick Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, Vol. ii (London 1908), p. 539, and the illustration No. 11 on Plate LXIII.

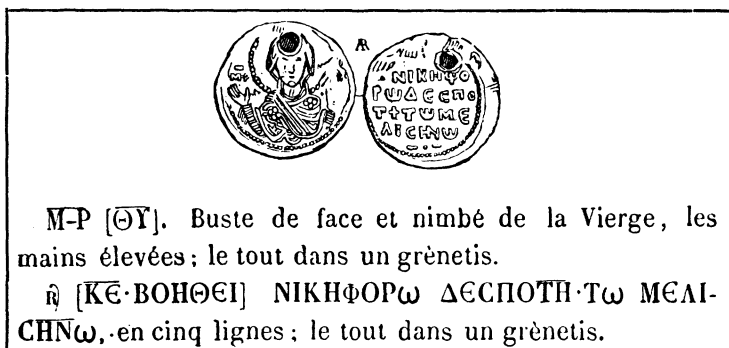


Fig. 1.

Coin of Melissenus the pretender and Mr. Waddington's description.

It looks as if this coin has something to do with the one described in the *Sung-shi*. The Chinese scribe who first placed on record the details regarding it was, of course, not able to read the Greek legend on the reverse, but he must have been told by the ambassadors that it represented the king's name Melissenus. The portrait on the obverse may have been mistaken for that of Maitrêya, the Buddha of the future world so familiar to Chinese Buddhists,—a male deity, it is true, but generally represented as a beardless youth and very frequently with the nimbus round his head (cf. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien*, Berlin, 1893, p. 141: "in Schmuck und Tracht eines indischen Gottes oder altindischen Königs meist in sehr jugendlichem Alter").

I do not venture to throw out any guesses as to the motives which may have caused the Byzantine pretender and ally of a Seldjuk sultan to send a special mission to China. Nor am I in the position to throw light on the names mentioned in connection with the embassy of 1081. According to the Chinese text (*R. O.*, N 3) the king sent "*ta-shôu-ling*¹ *Ni-sŭ-tu-ling* *Sŭ-möng* (大首領你厮都令厮孟), which may stand for "the governor Nestorius Simeon", or "the governors Nestorius and Simeon." The two names, if we are not mistaken in explaining them thus, are followed by the words 判來, *p'an-lai*, which I now believe means that they came in company,

¹ Clearly a high official, since in the passage N 12 we are told that "the towns and country districts are each under the government of a *shôu-ling*." The *ta-shôu-ling* must have been superior to these local governors.

—bringing as tribute saddled horses, swords and pearls. I do no longer look upon the character *p'an* as part of the name. 判, now pronounced *p'an*, must have been identical in sound and tone with 伴 *pan*. K'ang-hi, Rad. 9, 5, quotes several T'ang authorities to say that the two characters are identical in sound (伴音判). This would entitle us to look upon the two characters as interchangeable and to assume that 伴來 may be a verb meaning "to come in company" similar to 伴遊, *pan-yu*, which is backed by passages in *P'ā-wōn-yün-fu*, chap. 26^A, p. 63^B, e. g. 誰伴老人遊, "who traveled in the company of the old man?" I am encouraged in offering this explanation by a passage of the *Sung-shi* (chap. 490, p. 16^B), where an Arab embassy is stated to have consisted of 1. the ambassador (*shī*, 使), 2. an assistant ambassador (*fu-shī*, 副使), and 3. a *p'an-kuan* (判官), or "companion officer," "attaché." Possibly the passage involves that "the king sent a *ta-shōu-ling*, accompanied by the Nestorian Simeon, or Simon, as attaché."

Professor Chavannes in his recent note on Fu-lin (p. 39) has made an important discovery in connection with the ruler of what I call Pseudo-Fu-lin, and this may, quite reasonably, have induced him to fall back on the former identification of Fu-lin with Constantinople. But since the Sung historians maintain that this Fu-lin had never sent any embassies to China before, this seems to involve its non-identity with the Fu-lin of the seventh and eighth century. Although merely a pretender, Melissenus was closely related to the Imperial court and his representatives ought to have been aware of the fact, if court missions had gone forward from Constantinople to China. The ambassadors, when cross-examined as to former relations between their government and the Chinese court, might have referred to the Fu-lin embassies of 643, 667, 701 and 719 A. D.¹ On the other hand, if these former missions had been sent by Christian patriarchs, whether of Antioch, Madain, or Bagdad, the kaiser's messengers could not well refer to them as having represented the Roman emperors whom they had to look upon as the predecessors of their chief. Their silence as to former relations would thus be explained. The *Sung-shi* account describes a mission from Fu-lin, it is true;

¹ See *R. O.*, p. 126: Index to Translations, s. v. "Embassies".

but I think this name had in the course of time grown into a general term applied to the Christian world at large. Originally designating the Nestorians as representing the Latin population of Syria or Ta-ts'in, the cradle of their faith, it was later on applied to other Christians, those of Byzantium under the Sung, and even the Pope of Rome under the Ming dynasty. It had grown into a term which covered a multitude of nations and of governments, like our "America," which may mean the United States in one sense and all possible countries in another.